

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 VIENNA 08691 01 OF 02 192050Z

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ACTION ACDA-19

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 TRSE-00 CIAE-00 EUR-25 PM-07 INR-10

L-03 NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01 SPC-03

USIA-15 SAJ-01 IO-14 OIC-04 AEC-11 OMB-01 H-03 NSC-10

SS-20 DRC-01 /164 W

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P R 191918Z OCT 73

FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 229

SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY

INFO AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

USMISSION GENEVA

USMISSION NATO

USNMR SHAPE

USCINCEUR

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 VIENNA 8691

GENEVA FOR CSCE AND SALT DELS

FROM US REP MBFR

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: MBFR: SUMMARY REPORT FOR PERIOD ENDING 19 OCTOBER.

1. BEGIN SUMMARY: ALLIED AD HOC GROUP BEGAN ITS WORK IN VIENNA WITH MEETING OCTOBER 16, PICKING UP THREADS OF DISCUSSIONS HELD IN BRUSSELS PREVIOUS WEEK. CONTINUED REVIEW OF US OPENING STATEMENT WAS FOCUS. BELGIAN, CANADIAN, AND UK REPS AGAIN SUGGESTED ELIMINATION FROM STATEMENT OF PARAS 26 AND 27, WHICH SUGGEST AN INITIAL CONCENTRATION ON US AND SOVIET REDUCTIONS. BY THE END OF THE WEEK, THE UK AND CANADA HAD FALLEN AWAY FROM THEIR OPPOSITION TO INCLUSION OF THE TWO PARAS.

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SECRET

PAGE 02 VIENNA 08691 01 OF 02 192050Z

THE BELGIAN OPENING STATEMENT TABLED LATE IN

THE WEEK CONTAINED A PARAGRAPH WHICH ALSO REFERRED TO AN INITIAL FOCUS ON US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS, UNDERMINING THE BASIS FOR BELGIAN OPPOSITION TO THE HANDLING OF THE QUESTION IN THE US STATEMENT. THE GROUP ALSO HANDLED A VARIETY OF PROCEDURAL ARRANGEMENTS; APPROVED THE TURKISH, LUXEMBOURG, AND WEST GERMAN OPENING STATEMENTS AND REVIEWED AND RECOMMENDED CHANGES IN THE BELGIAN DRAFT; DISCUSSED PRESS TACTICS; DISCUSSED DATA PROBLEMS; AND REVIEWED US CONTINGENCY PAPER ON SOVIET TACTICS DURING THE EARLY PHASES OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. END SUMMARY.

2. THE AD HOC GROUP INTENSELY DISCUSSED THE US DRAFT OPENING STATEMENT TWICE DURING THE WEEK. UK AND FRG ADDED SHORT SECTIONS TO THEIR STATEMENTS, FRG ON COMMON CEILING AND UK ON COMMON CEILING AND FOCUS ON US-SOVIET FORCES. IT APPEARS THAT MOST OTHER ALLIES HAVE DECIDED NOT TO ADD TO THEIR STATEMENTS TO MAKE THEM AS SUBSTANTIVE AS THE US STATEMENT AND MOST ALLIES NOW APPEAR TO ACCEPT SUBSTANTIVE US STATEMENTS AS USEFUL MEANS OF BREAKING GROUND FOR WESTERN POSITIONS IN TALKS. CONTROVERSY CONTINUED DURING THE WEEK OVER HOW MUCH THE US STATEMENT SHOULD SAY ABOUT US-SOVIET REDUCTIONS. THE BELGIAN ACTING REP (WILLOT), CANADIAN REP (GRANDE), AND BRITISH REP (ROSE) ORIGINALLY OPPOSED INCLUSION OF PARAS 26 AND 27 OF US DRAFT STATEMENT, WHICH SPECIFY US AND SOVIET RESPONSIBILITY FOR TAKING FIRST STEPS IN FORCE REDUCTIONS. UK REP ALSO WANTED REVISION OF PARA 25 TO SUBSTITUTE "COMMON CEILING" FOR "PARITY." US REP'S WILLINGNESS TO PROPOSE CHANGE TO WASHINGTON PLUS LACK OF ACTIVE OPPOSITION BY OTHERS RESULTED IN UK WILLINGNESS ON OCTOBER 18 TO ACCEPT INCLUSION OF PARAS 26 AND 27. CANADIAN REP HAD EARLIER ASKED THAT THE US RECONSIDER INCLUSION OF THE TWO PARAGRAPHS BUT APPEARS UNLIKELY TO PUSH THE ISSUE FURTHER. BELGIAN ACTING REP, HOWEVER, CONTINUED TO ARGUE THAT THE US FORMULATION WENT BEYOND NAC GUIDANCE FOR THIS STAGE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS. HE ALSO MAINTAINED THAT TWO PARAS IN QUESTION COULD BE MISINTERPRETED AS A MANDATE FOR BIG-POWER CONTROL OF

SECRET

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PAGE 03 VIENNA 08691 01 OF 02 192050Z

THE TALKS. ON 18 OCTOBER, HOWEVER, WHEN THE BELGIAN ACTING REP TABLED THE BELGIAN OPENING STATEMENT, US REPS POINTED OUT THAT THE STATEMENT INCLUDED REFERENCE TO INITIAL FOCUS ON US AND SOVIET FORCES, UNDERMINING BELGIAN OPPOSITION TO HANDLING OF THE QUESTION IN US STATEMENT. THE BELGIAN DEP REP HAS REFERRED THE MATTER BACK TO BRUSSELS, BUT AS FAR AS LOCAL REACTION IS CONCERNED, AD HOC GROUP APPROVAL OF

US STATEMENT INCLUDING PARAS 26 AND 27 NOW SEEMS
LIKELY WITHOUT FURTHER HITCHES.

3. IN OTHER BUSINESS, GROUP DECIDED TO MEET DAILY
IN PREPARATION FOR THE FIRST PLENARY ON 30 OCTOBER.
THE MAIN ITEMS OF BUSINESS WOULD BE TO REVIEW OUT-
STANDING POINTS RE OPENING STATEMENTS AND ANY RE-
VISIONS NECESSITATED, FOR EXAMPLE, BY AN CHANGED
APPRECIATIONS OF DETENTE LIGHT OF THE MIDDLE
EAST CRISIS, AND TO BEGIN TO PREPARE FOR THE STEPS
OF DEVELOPMENT OF GENERAL CONCEPTUAL THEMES
TO FOLLOW OPENING STATEMENTS. THE GROUP DISCUSSIONS
ALSO REFLECTED GENERAL AGREEMENT AMONG THE ALLIES ON
A FAIRLY OPEN PRESS POLICY, SET FORTH IN AN AGREED
PAPER. IN DISCUSSING PRESS POLICY WITH THE OTHER
SIDE, THE ALLIES WILL ATTEMPT TO ESTABLISH THAT
ALTHOUGH SPECIFICS OF THE NEGOTIATIONS
SHOULD REMAIN CONFIDENTIAL, BOTH SIDES WILL BE FREE
TO PROVIDE PRESS BACKGROUNDEERS ON THE GENERAL OUTLINES
OF POSITIONS PRESENTED BY EITHER SIDE. FORESHADOWING
WHAT PROMISES TO BE ONE OF THE MORE DIFFICULT QUESTIONS
DURING THE TALKS, THE AD HOC GROUP ALSO CONSIDERED
VARIOUS DATA PROBLEMS, SUCH AS HOW MUCH
INFORMATION SHOULD BE RELEASED TO THE PRESS
AND WHICH FIGURES SHOULD BE USED. THE GROUP'S DIS-
CUSSION OF DATA WAS INCONCLUSIVE AND THE SUBJECT WILL
BE COVERED AGAIN. THE GROUP HAD A USEFUL REVIEW OF
US PAPER ON POSSIBLE SOVIET TACTICS DURING INITIAL
STAGES DESIGNED TO FAMILIARIZE ALL MEMBERS OF
GROUP WITH THE SPECTRUM OF POSSIBLE SOVIET TACTICS PRIOR
TO BEGINNING OF TALKS.

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PAGE 01 VIENNA 08691 02 OF 02 192119Z

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P R 191918Z OCT 73
FM AMEMBASSY VIENNA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 230
SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY
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AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION NATO
USNMR SHAPE
USCINCUER

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 VIENNA 8691

4. DURING THE WEEK US REPS DISCUSSED PROBLEM OF PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS IN SEPARATE BILATERAL CONVERSATIONS WITH WEST GERMAN (BEHREND) AND BRITISH REPS. THE WEST GERMAN REP REITERATED BONN'S CASE FOR EXTENDING SUCH CONSTRAINTS TO WESTERN MILITARY DISTRICTS OF THE SOVIET UNION AS WELL AS TO OTHER WESTERN NATO AREAS. BUT HE INDICATED THAT BONN HAD BEEN IMPRESSED BY THE GROWING OPPOSITION AMONG ITS EC PARTNERS TO SUCH MEASURES. THE WEST GERMANS HAD BEEN PARTICULARLY IMPRESSED BY WHAT THEY SAW AS A MORE COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE IN PARIS TOWARD THE ALLIANCE. GIVEN THIS POSITIVE TREND OF FRENCH POLICY, THE FRG DOES NOT WANT TO RISK EXCESSIVE LIMITATIONS ON WEST EUROPEAN FORCES. US REPS POINTS OUT DANGERS OF CURRENT WEST GERMAN POSITION ON PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS AND SUGGESTED THAT FRG REP TALK TO UK REP, SINCE UK HAS BEEN PRINCIPAL ALLY OPPOSED TO
SECRET

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PAGE 02 VIENNA 08691 02 OF 02 192119Z

INCLUSION OF WEST EUROPEAN FORCES IN PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS.

5. UK REP TOLD US REP THAT LONDON'S OPPOSITION TO PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS IS INDEED BASED ON THE DESIRE NOT TO RISK LIMITATIONS ON FUTURE WEST EUROPEAN DEFENSE COOPERATION. US REP URGED UK REP TO DISCUSS PROBLEM WITH WEST GERMANS AND VICE VERSA BECAUSE THE SPLIT BETWEEN THESE TWO ALLIES REMAINS THE PRIMARY REASON FOR NATO FAILURE TO AGREE ON A POSITION ON THIS POINT. IN ANY CASE, MATTER SHOULD BE RESOLVED IN NEXT TWO WEEKS IN BRUSSELS IF PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS ARE TO BE INCORPORATED IN ALLIED PRESENTATION OF THEMES AFTER OPENING STATEMENTS.

ASSESSMENT: THE AD HOC GROUP GOT DOWN TO WORK IN VIENNA WITH A MINIMUM OF CONFUSION. BUT DURING THE CONTINGENCY DISCUSSIONS OF POSSIBLE SOVIET

TACTICS AND OF STEPS TO FOLLOW ON THE OPENING STATE-
EMTNS, IT WAS CLEAR THAT SOME ALLIES ARE CAUTIOUS ABOUT
THE TEMPO IN WHICH SO HE TALKS SHOULD DEVELOP. SOME
TYPICAL NATIONAL POSITIONS MADE THEIR REAPPEARANCE:
THE UK REMAINS INTENT ON KEEPING THE PACE OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS SLOW AND DELIBERATE, AS DEMONSTRATED
BY THE UK REP'S SUGGESTION THAT THE SITUATION IN THE
MIDDLE EAST MIGHT EASE PRESSURE IN THE US FOR RE-
DUCTIONS AND THUS WARRANT SLOW MOVEMENT IN
VIENNA AND HIS PROJECTED PROPOSAL FOR SLOW DEVELOPMENT OF PLENARIES.
THE BELGIANS AND SOME OTHER ALLIES HAVE ALREADY BEEN QUICK TO
REMINDE THE GROUP OF THE NAC'S ULTIMATE
RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE BROADEST RANGE OF POLICY DECISIONS,
AND POTENTIAL REFERRAL TO THE NAC REMAINS A
THREAT THAT THE BELGIANS AND OTHERS WILL USE TO
ENHANCE THEIR LEVERAGE. THE GERMANS HAVE DISPLAYED
SENSITIVITY TO THE CONCEPT OF AREA AND OF LIMITING
THE TALKS TO CENTRAL EUROPE IN SO MANY WORDS. IN
ADDITION, THE BILATERAL AND GROUP DISCUSSIONS THIS WEEK
CONFIRMED THAT A CENTRAL CONCERN OF THE WEST EURO-
PEAN ALLIES IS TO KEEP OPEN THEIR FUTURE COMMON DE-
FENSE OPTIONS. HUMES

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